1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Mengana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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En-giyama.

583 584 [836] Ten eiyamisho 'l-Maasae, neñgas aapwo aasir en-dito eton a kiti, ne'ya ol-kambau.

Ore p' eaku en-dito bōtor, neitōki áiya en-aisho o ol-kumbau. Neton lido eiyamisho.

Ore p' eaku emurati en-dito, neitōki aiya en-aisho, nemurati.

Ore po eishiu, nerōu 'n-gishu e-'ng-aputi, 'n-dauwa uni, o ol-kiteñg ōriku 'n-dauwa, o ol-kiteñg le-kutuk-aji. Ne'ya síi eng-anaabe enye en-aisho, nerubare.

Ore lido-kiteñg ōriku 'n-dauwa naa ninye eimalye ol-aputani ajo Pakiteñg.

Ore p' eaku elōtu arik e-ñgorōyōni enye, nerōu 'n-dare uni (il-kerra aare o e-supen e-'n-gerr), nāimalye eñg-aputani ajo Pakerr.

Nōyeñg lekwa-kerra pokirraare oo kulikae aare le-menye e-'n-dito.

Marriage[1].

When a Masai wishes to marry, he commences his courtship by making love to a girl while she is still young, and by presenting some tobacco to her father.

He then waits until the girl grows up, when he again offers presents of honey and tobacco.

More honey is given to the father at his daughter's circumcision.

On the young woman's recovery the man proceeds to his future father-in-law's kraal, and takes with him the dowry, viz. three heifers and two bullocks, one of the latter being said to keep the heifers company, whilst the other is slaughtered at the door of the hut. His sister also takes a pot of honey and accompanies him.

The bullock which accompanies the heifers is given to the bride's father in order that the two men may call one another Pakiteng, i.e. the giver and receiver of a bullock, or father and son-in-law.

When the time arrives for the husband to fetch his wife, he takes with him three sheep (two rams and a young ewe). The ewe he presents to the mother to enable them to call one another Pakerr, i.e. the giver and receiver of a sheep, or mother and son-in-law.

The two rams are slaughtered together with two others, which the girl's father provides.

[198] [1] Formerly no Masai was able to marry until he had been on several raids, but nowadays they leave the ranks of the warriors (il-murran) and settle down as married men (il-moruak) at a comparatively early age.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Ñgok: Ñyamin.

Ten epurisho l-Maasae, pe e'ya kulle, araki 'n-giri, araki 'n-gulye-tãkitin kutiti, meitalakisho.

Kake 'me naleñg epurisho l-lewa kitusk; il-eyok ake oopurisho naleñg aaya kulle, oo 'n-giri, oo 'n-gulye-tãkitin.

Mme tovono em-purore too-l-Maasae ten epureri 'n-dãkitin kutiti. Eibe l-Maasae ten epureri 'n-gisbu.

Ten epuroo l-muyan engiteñg, ore p' eibuñg ol-openy, nelak; naa, ten aa ãkuni l-tuñgunak ooinoss, neishooyo põkin in-dauwa uni.

Ore ten esuj ol-openy pe elo ainepu tyeñgita, pe edolu ol-murani, ãbo ol-openy elõtu, neiter ajo lido-murani õtadua, 'Muro',[1] meitalaki illo naleñg. Eishooyo l-kulikae leitu ejo 'Muro' 'n-dauwa; ore lido õtajo 'Muro,' neishooyo ol-buñgae. Naa, ten eiriamaki põkin aajo, 'Muro,' neishooyo l-buñgaiko põkin.

Crimes: Theft.

If a Masai steals milk, or meat, or other small things, he is not fined.

Grown up people, however, rarely steal, it is the boys who take the milk and meat, &c.

Whilst the Masai do not consider it wrong to steal trifles of this nature, they dislike immensely having their cattle stolen.

Should any warriors steal an ox and be caught by the owner, they would have to pay; and if three men took part in the theft, each would have to pay three heifers.

In the event of the owner following up the thieves and catching them in the act of slaughtering the stolen animal, one of the warriors might see him and call out 'Guilty,' in which case he would not be fined heavily. Whilst the others would be fined in heifers, he who had cried 'Guilty' would only have to pay a young bull. Were all of them to cry 'Guilty,' they would all be fined in young bulls.

En-gitaapare.

936
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Ten eitaap ol-murani endito, naa ainye oiyam.

Ten enyoru ol-murani endito naleñg, nãtiki aitaap, pe etum aiyama.

Seduction.

If a warrior causes a woman to conceive, he marries her.

When a warrior loves a woman very much, he purposely seduces her to enable him to take her as wife.

[1] Lit. kind-leg.

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687 oikoṗani eitu emut il-arin aare, amu ējo eton eshal el-lughunya e-lido ōtaaraki.

Ten ēar ol-Maasani likae-Maasani, nēji, 'Eitayo 'l-oikoṗ'; mēji, 'Etaarishe.' Nēji ol-ōtaarishe naa ol-ōtaara 'l-meek.

683 Naa, ten ēar ol-murani ol-likae, ṗe edunǧ en-giok, neishooyo lido ōtudunǧo ol-likae e-supen e-kerr. Naa, ten ēar ol-likae, negil ol-oito, a ol-le-'n-geju, a ol-le-'ng-aina, a ol-le-'l-lughunya, neishooyo en-dauwo.

682 Naa, ten ēari ol-ayōni metua, melaki anaa ol-murani, kake eishoori 'l-bunǧaiko onom.

Masai until two years have elapsed, for they say that the dead man's head is still fresh[1].

When one Masai kills another, it is called committing murder, it is not called killing. Killing is only used when referring to savages.

If a warrior strikes another and tears the lobe of his ear, he has to pay a young ewe. If he breaks a bone, either in his leg, arm, or head, he has to pay a heifer.

If a boy is murdered, the amount which has to be paid is not as great as for a warrior, the price being fifty young bulls.

En-giopo.

Adultery.

684 [561] Metii ol-murani araki ol-ayōni oidim ataboitare en-gitok o-'l-poror le-menye. Ten eiyōlōuni, nedeki.

Ore ten edeki, neishooyo 'n-gīshu are, en-e-'n-aisho, naaropye 'l-paiyani ṗe medek. O ol-kiteñg'ōyeñg il-paiyani ten ēok en-aisho.

836 837 [561] Kake meikōni nēja ten eboitare 'n-gituak araki 'n-doiye o-'l-poror lenye. 'Me torono inna.

No warrior or boy may commit adultery with a woman of his father's age. If he does so, and it becomes known, he is cursed.

Should he be cursed, he pays two oxen (one in lieu of honey-wine), and he prays the elders to remove the curse. The elders eat the ox when they drink their honey-wine.

But this is not the case if a man commits adultery or fornication with a woman or girl of his own age. This is not an offence[2].

[1] This law is not always put into force. The murdered man's relations are often willing to make peace on payment of a heavy fine, say 100 head of cattle.

[595] [2] From this it will be seen that the Masai are polyandrous as well as polygamous. A man may marry as many wives as he can afford to purchase, and a woman may cohabit with any man belonging to her husband's age.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
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262 884 opened a vein and drank the blood fresh from the animal. This proceeding of our voracious young friends was a wise though repulsive one, as the blood thus drunk provided the [263] salts so necessary in the human economy; for the Masai do *not partake of any salt in its common form. This* sanguinary draught concluded, they proceeded to gorge themselves on the flesh, eating from morning till night—and keeping their cook steadily at work. The half-dozen men were quite able to dispose of the entire animal in a few days, and then they returned to the kraal to resume the milk diet.

884 836 If they lived an ascetic life in the matter of food, they could not be said to do so in other ways. Life in the warriors' kraal, as may easily be conceived, was promiscuous in a remarkable degree. They may, indeed, be described as a colony of free lovers. Curiously enough the "sweetheart" system was largely in vogue, though no one confined his or her attentions to one only. Each girl, in fact, had several sweethearts, and, what is still stranger, this seemed to give rise to no jealousies. The most perfect equality prevailed between the Ditto and El-moran, and in their savage circumstances it was really pleasant to see how common it was for a young girl to wander about the camp with her arm round the waist of a stalwart warrior.

884 517 701 Till a war-raid was planned, Moran, our interesting *protégé*, found he had nothing to do but make acquaintances and amuse himself with the girls. His cattle were looked after by some poor menials, and though the kraal was stationed near a dangerous neighbour, yet no fighting took place. It was, however, a rule in the warrior kraals that no fence for protection was allowed, hence the utmost vigilance had to be exercised. Moran thus in the course of his duty had frequently to act as watch. At other times he practised various military evolutions, and he kept up his muscle by the peculiar mode of dancing described in the Taveta chapter. Unlike negro tribes, they led what might be called a serious life. They had no rollicking fun, no moonlight dancing, no [533] lively songs, no thundering drums. No musical instrument [534] whatsoever enlivened the Masai life, and their songs were entirely confined to such occasions as the return home from a successful raid, or the invocation of the deity. As soon as darkness fell upon the land the guard was appointed, the cattle milked, and everything hushed up in silence.

624 Shortly after joining the kraal, Moran was called upon to record his vote in the election of a *Lytunu* and a *Lygonani*.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) " without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own " Counsellors " (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran.

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, " drank milk " and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, " the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

595 number of women available; at times a poor relation will join in a gate with a richer one; again, mothers and mothers-in-law and deceased brothers' wives are frequently included; and nowadays married warriors [592] are found staying on with their fathers. Thus a symmetrically arranged 'gate' is seldom found in practice.

The practical effect of this system is that a Masai elder attempts to main a constant succession of wives, marrying new ones to replace those who depart with their sons. As there are no unmarried adult women amongst the Masai, this means that senile old men take to wife girls only just past the age of puberty. As such girls have previously been accustomed to the companionship, both sexual and social, of the moran, it is little to be wondered at that they frequently run away, or attempt to run away, with their erstwhile companions. The elders have no idea of preventing this by making the girls' married life more attractive than their previous one; their only remedy is force.

[52] The two primary motives for polygamy are the desire for children, and the necessity to have women to tend the cattle. There is little sexual jealousy amongst the Masai; within the age-set the wives are [836 837] communal to all age-mates, and an age-mate known to be the father of one's child is regarded as a special friend. Intercourse between men of one age and the wives of another is nominally prohibited, but its [572] extensive practice is acknowledged by the Masai, and in fact receives general connivance. Concerning the economic motive for polygamy, increasing herds necessitate more women to tend them, and at the same time offer the means of obtaining such women. Not that the actual [583] dowry is heavy — usually three heifers and a bullock — but a man prefers to marry off his daughters to a rich elder, rather than to a poor moran. Thus economics and sociology are closely linked, and action in one sphere will have repercussions in the other.

162 595 The extent to which polygyny is practised can be judged from the following table :—

Distribution of Wives amongst Adult Male Population.

	Kibaya		*Samatwa*		*Engasu-met*		*Longido*		*Total*	
	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives	men	wives
Total unmarried	102	—	135	—	53	—	151	—	441	—
One wife	65	65	82	82	50	50	134	134	331	331
Two wives	46	92	46	92	15	30	46	92	153	306
Three wives	13	39	12	36	11	33	10	30	46	138
Four wives	8	32	6	24	5	20	1	4	20	80
Five wives	1	5	2	10	1	5	—	—	4	20
Over five wives	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	25	4	25
Total polygamists	68	—	66	—	32	—	61	—	227	—
Total of men and women	235	233	283	244	135	138	346	285	999	900

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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particular relation. The naming ceremony is as follows:—When the child can run about a *small* ram is chosen and killed by the woman of the village and eaten by them (and not by any men). The child is then given a name which is chosen by the assembled women. It is usually named after some friend of the family either living or deceased, and great care is taken that the person after whom the child is named is (or was) good-looking and of good character, as otherwise the child would grow up ugly and of an evil nature. This is the name used by the family and by friends, but after initiation a boy is always called "Son of 'so-and-so,'" and not by his own name (except by his family). After a man is married and has named sons of his own he is called "Father of 'so-and-so.'" 553 551

Teeth Extraction.—As soon as a child of either sex has cut all its milk-teeth the two central lower incisors are knocked out, and this operation is repeated when the permanent teeth grow. There is no ceremony attached to this removal of the teeth, which is performed with a small, sharp two-edged knife. The reason given for this practice is, that in the case of any illness, if the patient keeps his mouth tightly closed, water and gruel can be poured in through the hole so formed. 304 [852] [412] [758]

Ear Piercing.—At the age of about 6 or 7, children of both sexes have holes pierced in the cartilage round the upper part of the ear, and as soon as the boys start herding cattle and the girls start drawing water they have the lobes of the ears pierced. Ears are pierced in order to prepare them for carrying ornaments, and the holes are stretched to the size which the individual requires by means of a gradual increase in the size of the inserted stretching plug of rough wood.

Games.—All sorts of childish games are played by the children during their early days, but I could not obtain any details from my informants. 524

Clothing.—From a very early age children are given small bits of skin as clothing, and the boys have small sandals made for them. 291

Food.—The food of children is the same as that of grown-ups and is restricted to milk, fat, and meat, as no crops are grown. 262

Part II.—Boyhood.

Herding.—As soon as they are considered old enough (and this depends upon the number of other boys in the family available for this work), boys are sent to help herd the sheep and cattle, and they continue to do so until they are old enough to start preparing for initiation. 857

Sex Life.—Initiation is often delayed until some little time after puberty, and it is not considered in any way wrong for these boys to begin indulging sexually as soon as they like, provided that they observe certain restrictions. They may do as they like with the younger girls in the neighbouring villages, provided, of course, that they observe the law forbidding sexual relations with any member of their own sub-clan, 836 883 684 [834]

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836 883 684 [834] and also provided they avoid such young girls as are attached to men in the warrior classes. That these young uninitiated lads even try to have intercourse with married women is certain, as there is a special penalty provided for women who so debase themselves. (*See* Marriage.)

881 561 *Preparation for Initiation.*—No boy is allowed to think about preparing for initiation until he can show a growth of facial hair indicating puberty. Boys are always very anxious to be initiated as soon as possible, and as soon as they consider that they can make a reasonable claim that they are old enough, they form themselves into groups of anything from six to a dozen, dress themselves in new calf-skins, and, taking with them bows and arrows, go out on a tour of all the villages of the district announcing that they are candidates for initiation and demanding presents. These groups are called *olamal*, and by long custom they must be given anything they ask for which is within reason.

[431] Custom dictates that they shall ask especially for honey and hyrax-skin karosses, and these they take and present to senior and influential elders belonging to various circumcision groups, at the same time requesting them to bring up the question of their initiation at the councils, and to make all the necessary arrangements. There is often a delay of anything from six months to a year before the consent of the councils is obtained and arrangements are set on foot. In the meantime the groups of boys continue on their visiting tours collecting more presents as further persuasion to the elders to do as requested, and fresh groups of boys are formed and add themselves to the number of the candidates for initiation.

[836] During the whole time that these *olamal* groups are wandering about from village to village they may sleep with any of the uninitiated girls in the villages which they visit (even those who are attached to young warriors), provided that they observe the normal restrictions of the warrior classes.

Ceremony of Seizing the Ox by the Horns.—When at length the elders have consented to proceed with the initiation ceremonies, those elders to whom the presents of honey and hyrax-skins were given make the necessary arrangements for the ceremony of seizing the horns of the black ox. These elders select a village of some elder of the [614] Lukumai sub-clan (the ox must always be supplied by a member of this sub-clan), and demand a black ox without any defect and without any trace of other colour on any part of its body. Should the owner of the selected village not possess such an ox he must obtain one from another member of the Lukumai sub-clan, and if he cannot do so he must obtain it from another clan by purchase or exchange, and present it to the elders. This ox is called *oregeteng*.

When the ox has been procured, a special village is built near where the ox was obtained, and a day is fixed for the horn-seizing ceremony. Only those of the candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their homes while the ceremony takes place.

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place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratogedienye* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jangienobur* group.

Manyattas.—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

Sex Life.—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

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Before dealing with the subsequent procedure, after a girl has promised to visit a warrior on a given night, it is necessary to outline the sleeping arrangements and accommodation in a *manyatta* hut. The hut is not divided off into rooms in any way, and at one end of the hut is the bed upon which the woman (mother of one of the warriors) to whom the hut belongs, sleeps with her younger children. At the other end of the hut, not screened off in any way, is the bed upon which the warriors and girls sleep. No warrior may ever sleep upon the married woman's bed, but the woman's husband can come down and visit her whenever he likes, and when he does so, no warriors or girls may sleep in the hut. Ordinarily, however, the woman's husband does not live at the *manyatta*, and she and her small children sleep on her bed at the one end of the hut, while the warriors sleep on the bed at the other end of the hut with the girls. No warrior ever sleeps in his own mother's hut, but always in one of the other huts if he has invited a girl to sleep the night with him. When, therefore, he has arranged for a girl to visit him at night he goes in the evening to one of the other huts and arranges to sleep on the young people's bed there. He then sends a message by the woman who owns the hut to tell the girl that he is sleeping there so that she may come to him. There is absolutely no objection to several men coming in this way to the same hut, and sleeping on the same big bed each accompanied by his girl. In fact, it is considered wrong for a warrior and a girl to have sexual intercourse unless there are also other couples sleeping on the same bed. Moreover, besides those men who have come to the hut and sent for their girls to join them there, there are usually several younger girls, daughters of the woman who owns the hut, sleeping on the bed too. These young girls, too young as yet to sleep with the men sexually, nevertheless, sleep on the same bed as the warriors and older girls, and thus grow up steeped in the customs of the *manyatta*.

It is exceptionally difficult for a European to understand all the full details and facts concerning native sex life, but the following facts have been noted and verified for the Masai. No girl may sleep with a man except she be absolutely nude, but on the other hand, although by tradition and by etiquette she may not refuse an invitation to sleep with a man (except for the two reasons already given above), she is not necessarily expected to allow him full sexual intercourse, and, in fact, often does not do so. Thus—strange as it may seem—Masai girls do sometimes go to their husbands as virgins in the physical sense of the word (*see* Marriage), although they may have slept with men in the *manyattas* countless times. Usually, however, Masai girls have no objection to full intercourse except during the first four or five days after each menstrual period (*see* Girlhood), for the Masai firmly believe that conception cannot occur unless intercourse takes place very soon after menstruation, and four to five days is considered an absolutely safe margin. Moreover, this belief seems to have a strong foundation in fact, and it thus raises a very interesting point for physiologists as to whether this is as true of primitive peoples as it

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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836 is of animals. It is apparently this fact which explains why there are so
842 few cases of uninitiated girls conceiving despite the Manyatta sexual organization.
561 My informants insist that cases of conception only occur when a girl has been persuaded by a man to have full intercourse just after her menstruation. It is quite easy for a girl to see to it that she does not have full intercourse if she does not want it, since there are always at least two other couples sleeping on the same bed, and there is also always a married woman in the same hut to see to it that no force is used by the men.

(For details of procedure should an uninitiated girl conceive, *see* Girlhood.)

836 *Permanent Lovers.*—Besides the casual day-to-day lovers described above,
561 a girl very often has a more permanent lover in the *manyatta* in which she lives, chosen from among the ranks of those who have been her casual lovers. The actual
836 choosing ceremony takes place in public, but the choice is usually made privately
584 beforehand. This permanent lover in some cases will eventually be the girl's
561 husband, but this is not usual, as nearly every Masai girl is betrothed during childhood (*see* Marriage), and usually girls are quite content to marry those to whom they were thus betrothed. Should a girl be unwilling to marry the man to whom she is betrothed she usually contrives to become pregnant by her "permanent lover" and to persuade him to marry her (*see* Girlhood).

836 The actual ceremony of selecting a "permanent lover" takes place as a public
561 affair. A group of the warriors, including the man, collect together and one of the man's friends then summons the girl and hands her a spear, and she is told to go and give it to the man she choses as "permanent lover." Having thus been publicly accepted, the warrior from then on becomes responsible for supplying the girl with such ornaments and necklaces as she may need from time to time, and he also gives her a special necklace to be worn as a token. After this ceremony she continues as before to sleep with any of the warriors who may ask her to do so in the way detailed above (*see* Sex Life). Equally the man may sleep with any of the other girls, but the girl and her "permanent lover" can arrange to sleep together without adopting the usual formula and procedure.

561 *The Eunutu Ceremony.*—After nine years of Junior Warriorhood a big cere-
[984] mony called *Eunutu* takes place, at which all the members of a given group from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east, and west, are required to be present. This ceremony marks their rise from Junior to Senior Warriorhood. During the whole of the nine years of Junior Warriorhood they have not been
[302] allowed to shave their heads at all, but their hair has been gradually tied and trained into a long pigtail at the back of the head, which is the sign of Junior Warriorhood. (The only exception to this rule of not shaving the head during Junior Warriorhood is in case of severe illness, when the head may be shaved if so desired.)

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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Summary of Warriorhood.

From boyhood upwards to the Elders' stage there are the following recognized steps, each with appropriate "rites de passage," except in the last stage. 561

(1) *Candidate Stage.*—After the boys have attained puberty, as shown by the first signs of hair growth on the face, they form bands who wander about the country receiving presents, and finally there is the horn-seizing ceremony, after which the candidates are circumcised and enter the novice stage. [881]

(2) *Novice Stage.*—No sex life is permitted to novices, who during their novitiate wander about with bows and arrows shooting birds for head-dresses. This stage is concluded by a head-shaving ceremony, after which the novices enter full warriorhood.

(3) *Junior Warrior Stage.*—This is a period of roughly nine years from the end of the novitiate. During this time—with certain exceptions—no warrior may shave the hair off his head. Life is in the *manyattas*. This period is concluded by the *Eunutu* ceremony and a general head-shaving which marks the entry into the senior warrior stage.

(4) *Senior Warrior Stage.*—Warriors remain in this class until there are two age-groups in it, and then transfer to the Elders' group. Transfer from the senior warrior stage to the Elders' stage cannot take place unless there are two age-groups ready to move up together.

PART IV.—GIRLHOOD.

Work.—As soon as girls are old enough to do so, at the age of about seven, they start helping their mothers and sisters in the general work of the village, sweeping out the huts, milking the cows, nursing the children, drawing water and sewing skins. There is, however, one sort of work which is never done by any uninitiated girl, and that is getting firewood. This work is specially reserved for married women. The girls' work may either be in the home village or else in a warrior's *manyatta*, should they have brothers living in a *manyatta*. 857 [313 581]

Sex Life.—From a very early age indeed the young girls imbibe the general atmosphere of Masai sex life. As already mentioned, those of them who have brothers living in the *manyattas* sleep from a very early age—long before puberty—on the same beds as couples indulging in sexual intercourse; and even those girls who live in the home villages learn all about such matters at a very early age owing to the fact that they always sleep on their mother's bed. As soon as ever the first signs of puberty are noticeable, girls may be asked by the warriors to sleep with them, and the question of whether there is complete intercourse or not rests then entirely with the girls. Moreover, the uninitiated boys, and especially those who tour the villages as candidates for initiation, expect any young girls who are not already 864 883 836

883 attached to the warriors to sleep with them. In fact, we may say that for the girls
836 sex life starts before puberty and continues (with no such period of sexual prohibition as the boys have during the novice stage) until they are initiated. There is one important restriction, however, as far as the girls are concerned, and that is that
[834] sexual intercourse with married men is entirely prohibited before initiation, and is considered a very serious offence.

841 *Menstruation.*—Menstruation is not looked upon as causing uncleanness, and there are no special rules and regulations attached to this condition, but, on the other hand, during the actual menstrual period a girl should refuse all invitations to sleep with men or boys. There is no restriction of work during the menstrual
[171] period as there is among some Bantu tribes, but a girl or woman must wash her hands before milking if she is menstruating.

843 *Conception.*—There is a general belief (as already mentioned) that conception can only take place if there has been full sexual intercourse during the five or six days immediately following the menstrual period, and although there is no special teaching about this, girls grow up with this knowledge and take care not to allow full intercourse during the few days immediately following menstruation. Occasionally, of course, a girl does allow sexual intercourse at this time, either because she is carried away by sexual desire, or because she deliberately wishes to conceive for some reason or another (*see* Warriorhood). In the former case she will try to bring about abortion.

847 *Abortion.*—If a girl finds that she has conceived and wishes to induce abortion she sends for the man whom she considers responsible and tells him about it, and he is bound to help her.

As long as her condition has not been discovered by her parents she may try to induce abortion, but as soon as her condition is known to her parents she must no longer try to do so. Abortion is brought about by means of a stick of special wood which can only be obtained from a medicine man. This stick is inserted into the vaginal passage and is said to be an absolutely certain abortificant. This is the only method used.

848 *Penalty for Conception.*—If an uninitiated girl conceives and her condition
581 becomes known she must immediately be initiated. In the normal way (*see* below)
884 her initiation would take place at her mother's house and the necessary arrangements would be made by her father, but if she is to be initiated because she is with child the onus of all the arrangements is shifted on to the man who is responsible for the girl's condition, and the ceremony must take place at the man's village. This does not, however, mean that the man will have to marry her because of this, but he may do so should both parties desire it. Not only must the man arrange for her initiation and pay all the costs of the ceremony, but he must also give one heifer and a quantity of beer to the girl's father, "because he has prevented the father

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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As stated above, *Ol Piron* means a firestick. I have been given a reason for the use of this term, but was not convinced of its truth. The elders of the *Ol Piron* generation stand in a particular position of guardians to their juniors who recognize their authority to a far greater extent than they do that of elders of other generations. This relationship has considerable political as well as domestic importance. 561

Manyattas.—The *sirit* is the unit for a single *manyatta*, except when the whole age-group of a single area combine to form one *manyatta* for some ceremony, *e.g.* the *E-Unoto*. 561 361 648

For some years the policy of Government was directed towards suppressing the warrior system, and *manyattas* were prohibited, each warrior being supposed to live in his father's village. With increasing control and understanding of the tribe this rule has been somewhat relaxed, and the warriors are now commonly allowed to have *manyattas* provided that they continue to behave themselves before the law.

But the general effect of Government policy has profoundly modified the original customs with regard to warriorhood, and it is now rather difficult at times to know exactly what these were. The main political effect is that warriorhood lasts for a much shorter period than formerly, and most men marry and become elders within four or five years of their circumcision. 561 177 361

Nowadays the parents are somewhat unwilling that the girls should live in the *manyattas*, and so there are only a few of them to be seen there.

A *manyatta* usually differs structurally from an elder's village in that it is simply a circle of huts without the usual thorn hedge round it.

Sex Life.—The word written by Mr. Leakey *tasiukiu* would perhaps best be spelt as two words *Tasioki iyook*. *Tasioki* is a second person singular imperative of a dative word (*see* Hollis, p. 77) which I have never heard except as described by Mr. Leakey. *Iyook* means "we" or "us." 836 [193] [114]

When a man has been accepted by a girl who has been so addressed he usually holds out his hand to her with the tips of his forefinger and thumb touching to form a circle. She is then supposed to break the circle so formed with her forefinger. This is regarded as making her acceptance binding. [201] [832]

It is a great disgrace for a warrior to cause an uninitiated girl to conceive, and he must kill an enemy in order to wipe it out. This is, in fact, the usual reason for the occasional murders of people of other tribes, frequently ascribed erroneously to a desire on the part of the murderer to "blood his spear." 842 154

The E-Unoto Ceremony.—Nowadays this takes place from three to five years after initiation. It is not a single ceremony for the whole of the Masai, but there are a number of separate ceremonies according to the groups enumerated in my age-group table above. 561 884

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

In the first descending generation, the word *en-kerai*, " child," may be applied to son, daughter, brother's son and daughter, and father's brother's son's son and daughter, or they may be distinguished as masc. *ol-ayioni*, " boy," and fem. *en-tito*, " girl." Father's brother's daughter's son is *ol-aputani*, and father's brother's daughter's daughter *en-e-sotua*, the latter term applying also to father's sister's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's son's daughter. The term *o-le-sotua* is applied to the mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's daughter's son, and father's sister's daughter's son. *O-le-nk-apu* is applied to the sons of father's sister's son and mother's brother's son, and *en-e-nk-apu* to their daughters. In this generation there are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's daughter. 601

In the second descending generation, *ol-akui* includes the sons of a man's own son and daughter, brother's son, father's brother's son's son, father's brother's son's daughter; while *enk-akui* is applied to their daughters. Father's brother's daughter's son's son is *ol-aputani*, and the daughter is *en-e-sotua*. The term *o-le-nk-apu* covers son's son, and the sons of sister's son, father's sister's son's son, and mother's brother's son's son; their daughters are *en-e-nk-apu*. *O-le-sotua* includes the sons of sister's daughter, father's brother's daughter's daughter, father's sister's daughter's son, father's sister's son's daughter, mother's brother's son's daughter, mother's brother's daughter's son, mother's sister's son's son, mother's sister's son's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter's son; *en-e-nk-apu* is applied to the daughters. There are no terms for mother's brother's daughter's daughter's son and daughter, or for mother's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter.

Among affines, the term *ol-aputani* is applied to wife's father, wife's father's brother, and wife's brother, but their wives are *enk-aputani*, *en-e-sotua*, and *en-e-sotua* respectively. Son and grandson of wife's brother are also *ol-aputani*. Wife's sister is *e-sindani e-anyit*, and all children and grandchildren of wife's brother and sister (except wife's brother's son and grandson) are *-e-sotua*. The majority of affinal terms are in fact of the *-e-sotua* category. Husband is *ol-moruo* or *ol-payian*, wife *e-goroyioni* or *en-kitok;* junior wife is *enk-aini*.

These kinship terms, however, are not very much used, for it is the custom of the Masai to call each other by cattle-names: members of a domestic group give each other cattle on various occasions, and thereafter the word denoting the kind of animal given is used as the equivalent of a reciprocal relative term; the animal name is prefixed by *pa*, meaning " giver or receiver of." Thus, a father usually gives his son a bull when he is about 10 years old, and they then call each other *pa-oiyoni*, " giver (receiver) of a bull " instead of *papa* and *li-ayioni*. An elder brother will give a younger brother a heifer, and they will then be *pa-n-tawuo* (heifer) to each other. Paternal cousins often call each other *pa-meregesh* (ram). 551

Among these relatives, the mother's brother has great power and influence over his sister's son. He can give him orders, which must be obeyed, and he may take what he wants from his nephew, who has also the right to take what he wants from his uncle. Refusal to obey the mother's brother can be punished by cursing, but this is not reciprocal. Behaviour patterns are based on seniority and the claims of kinship, and are expressed in the avoidance of bad language and unseemly actions, and the observance of formality between certain persons. There is avoidance between a man and his wife's mother, and between a man and his full brother's wife, though not between him and his half-brother's wife. The formality of greetings helps to preserve the respect for elderhood. 604 602 606 607 888

Pre-marital Sex-life

A man's sex-life begins when he has been circumcised; a girl's when she reaches puberty. Pre-marital relations are more formalized than among the Nandi, since the unmarried warriors of a local company, *sirit*, live in a barrack, *e-manyata*, with their mothers, some of their sisters, and their girl lovers, *e-sanca*, each man having his own lover. The rules which regulate marriage apply in the selection of a lover. 836

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

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Every warrior has his favorite girl (na sandja) (1).

1. /This footnote has been translated from the Latin in the original source./ Girls not yet "circumcised" live with the fighting men, sleeping with this one today, that one tomorrow. Pregnancy for a girl not yet circumcised is considered an outrage and is avoided either by interrupting cohabitation during the menses and the six days following or by withdrawing the penis before ejaculation. A pregnant girl gets rid of the fetus by an abortion brought about by medicaments. In wartime parents do not have intercourse for one or two months. Rupturing the hymen is neither a public custom nor a solemn rite.

[881]
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As long as he is at home she lives with him, takes care of his livestock, and makes part of his ornaments. The girl calls her lover os sandja and shows the others the coming about of this relationship by bringing a gourd bottle full of milk to the warriors squatting together and placing it beside the left leg of her lover.

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Merker phot

Ill. 31. Warrior in war adornment.

[Warrior Kraal]

/84 cont./

701 836 As long as the latter stays in the kraal, his girl is obliged to remain faithful to him, but if he leaves it, even for only one day, she is entitled to console herself with another kraal companion, provided that between her and him -- as is also a condition for her relationship with her os sandja -- there is no obstacle such as the above-mentioned obstacles to marriage based on lineage affiliation.

233 857 The tending of the livestock falls to the boys. Even at night they sleep outside in order to watch them and are assisted in the watch by the mothers, who take turns several times every night and frighten off wild animals by shouting.

361 /85/ 233 417 [343] [672] Within the ring of huts there is a circular kraal of thorns for the cattle and near that a narrower one for goats and sheep, while beside almost every hut there is a small lean-to for the young calves and a barricade of branches for the older calves of the individual ones. Thus everyone remains responsible for the barricading of his calves and, if at night they should find their way to the cows, has no excuse for starting a quarrel with others in the morning on account of the lack of milk. Milk is the only food that the Ol morani takes in the kraal, and the lack of it is therefore especially grievous.

701 262 264 [273] [276] Outside of it, only meat serves the warriors as food, and, to be sure, only that from cattle, sheep, and goats. They do not take vegetable food, honey beer, and tobacco. The meat meals are always held outside the kraal; a slaughtered head of small livestock is consumed a few hundred meters from the kraal, behind a bush, whereas for the consumption of a head of cattle a more distant spot under a shade tree in the bush /Fig. 18 appears here/ or forest is chosen. For these

701 262 264 574 forest meals (ol bul, e buli) mess companies are formed in every warrior kraal, which are designated sirit' ol bul and which consist of five or six members, each of whom is called os sirit ol bul. Such banquets take place once or twice a month for each mess company and last three or four days each time, during which an ox is consumed. Besides the warriors, one to three girls also take part, and also a few boys as servants for fetching pots, water, and firewood, as well as for kitchen work. Prior to the slaughtering each mess company splits up into two equal-sized parts, each of which is called

000 ol gibet and prepares its own camp. Under a shade tree with thick

[Warrior Kraal]

/90 cont./

512 535 701 [836] [832] [533] knees. The row of girls moves forward up to the warriors with short, stamping steps, bending their knees and swaying their upper bodies. As a rule the dance ends when each girl whose lover is absent approaches one of the dancing warriors in short high-jumps. This is an invitation to a rendezvous, which the one concerned answers in similar fashion as a sign of consent. The dance is always accompanied by singing. Shortly before sunset all return to the kraal.

701 535

Ill. 34. Dance in the warrior kraal III. 1/4 C. G. Schillings phot.

512 701 [234] [264] [272] [535] Soon afterwards the livestock returns home, and, after it is milked, the people take the evening meal (en dáĭ e téĭba = food in the evening), again consisting of milk. After that the dancing of warriors and girls begins anew on a small open place in the kraal, close to the entrance, and is interrupted only from time to time in order to moisten with milk the throats shouted dry. During this time the mothers are still busy with the livestock. It takes quite a while

512 534 1/4 [Illustrations 34 and 35 (on p. 119), despite the differences in captions, apparently were both taken at the same location, with only a slight time differential--Analyst]

/345 cont./

182 Harmful to the child's health, on the other hand, are the poor huts,
165 which are always /346/ filled with dense smoke, and furthermore
854 the lack of cleanliness and the faulty diet. The belief, widespread
[362] among all African primitive peoples, that fat gives strength and
853 health leads to the stuffing of the baby, despite all its struggles and
146 screams, with unbelievable quantities of butter. Soor, as well as
856 stomach and intestinal affections, and ailments of the respiratory
[164] organs are therefore also the principal illnesses that carry off the babies. If one compares the high mortality among children with the very low one in later life, and if one further considers that, in inspecting the Masai kraals, one finds almost only healthy people full of energy, one cannot resist the thought that the treatment of the children, especially the babies, unconsciously aims at culling out all the weak elements at an early age and preserving for the people only the most vigorous ones that are equal to the demands of life. Seen from this standpoint, that of natural selection, the high child mortality seems less unfortunate. Finally, the late age
182 at which the men enter their first marriage is unfavorable for popu-
582 lation increase. Until about the 28th or 30th year of life the Masai
836 belongs to the warrior standing, and he may marry only after leaving
839 it. This circumstance in turn makes free love, such as exists in the warrior kraals, an understandable social institution. One must judge this arrangement on the soil in which it grows, in order to remain objective. From the same standpoint we shall have to judge more leniently the free love existing among the married, which, despite numerous restrictions, appears to us like a continuous prostitution
[548] of the woman. One can do this all the more since through that professional prostitution is excluded here, and consequently the possibility of infection is greatly reduced; this last circumstance is undoubtedly to be regarded as people-preserving. Actually the Masai
[164] maintain that in former times (before the great livestock epidemics) venereal diseases only very rarely occurred. Immorality is rightly
182 regarded as a people-destroying factor, and history teaches us by
831 many examples how licentious and refined sensuality was one of the grounds that caused the decline of higher peoples. Here among the Masai, however, it is not a matter of this unnatural kind of

411 warriors also carry a narrow oval shield made of buffalo or giraffe hide on a wooden frame, and painted with insignia including the warrior's age grade and clan.

561 701 [712] [562] [836] Originally during the period of warriorhood the morani were not expected to do any work except fight. They lived in a separate village, called a manyatta, and were generally taken care of by the unmarried girls of the tribe. Discipline was reputed to have been extremely good. The warriors had older advisors whom they obeyed.

224 [223] [301] [411] Ostrichs were hunted to obtain feathers for ornaments, buffalo and giraffe for shields, and lion for the highly prized mane. Traditionally the moran was expected to blood his spear on a lion. The dramatic 177 178 Masai lion hunts are famous. (Simon, 1962). At present warfare and lion hunting are illegal. The obvious 561 701 224 721 result is a large body of young men with absolutely nothing to do for a period of up to 15 years of what could be the most energetic period of their lives. *[233] They tend the livestock some, but much of the time there is nothing for them to do. As a consequence discipline is breaking down. The elders apparently have much less influence or control over the morani than they did

561 He may marry when he is a senior warrior. When he becomes
593 an elder he may take his mother (if he wants) and her
591
[582] share of the family cattle (for each wife has a given
[422] share of cattle) and move off to join others in a village
[562] (Fosbrooke, 1948).

561 The unmarried girls of the tribe live in the
• 836 warrior's manyattas and normally each moran has one
[583] favorite girl who becomes his concubine. They told us
that usually that girl became the warrior's first wife.

621 (c) Villages: Villages consist of a group
of families, often about five but sometimes more or
less. The villages are commonly called bomas or
361 (improperly) manyattas. Each boma consists of an outer
•233 circular thorn fence with a series of gates, one for
[417] each Masai elder. Within the gates there are a series of
huts. Often around the huts are small thorn fences
in which young livestock are kept. The cattle of the
village are normally herded into the space in the center
of the boma each night for protection from two and
four legged predators, and in the morning they are taken
back out to graze.

595 When a Masai marries, his first wife builds
on the right of his gate, his second on the left,